

# ALEC in Texas

Uncovering the Influence of the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) in the Texas Legislature



**Education Fund** 



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#### Acknowledgments

The **Common Cause Education Fund** is the research and public education affiliate of Common Cause, founded in 1970 by John Gardner. Common Cause is a nonpartisan grassroots organization dedicated to upholding the core values of American democracy. Common Cause works to create open, honest and accountable government that serves the public interest; promote equal rights, opportunity and representation for all; and empower all people to make their voices heard in the political process. Common Cause has grown into a nationwide network of more than 1.2 million members and supporters, with a national office in Washington, DC, and offices in 30 states. Common Cause Texas is headquartered in Austin. More information on the organization and its work is available at <a href="https://www.commoncause.org/texas">www.commoncause.org/texas</a>.

The Center for Media and Democracy (CMD) is a nationally recognized watchdog that has been researching and exposing the undue influence of powerful special interests on our democracy for 25 years. CMD's in-depth, award-winning investigations and exposés have pulled back the curtain on numerous cases of public corruption and corporate manipulation of public policy, elections and the media, and the organization's publicly available research has made CMD a go-to source for thousands of journalists, educators, reform groups, and citizen activists.

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#### What Is ALEC?

The American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) brings together corporate representatives and elected officials to create and lobby for passage of "model bills" that often benefit the corporations' bottom lines. The bills typically are drafted and refined at ALEC meetings — which are closed to the public and press — then introduced in state legislatures, usually without any public acknowledgment of ALEC's role in creating and advancing them. ALEC and ALEC member corporations often pay legislators' travel expenses to attend ALEC conferences; in other cases, the expenses are often passed on to taxpayers.

ALEC lobbies on a variety of issues, including taxes and budgets, climate change and the environment, workers' rights and collective bargaining, healthcare, telecommunications, and education.

ALEC was founded in the 1970s but was unknown to most Americans until 2011, when watchdog groups, including the Center for Media and Democracy and Common Cause, publicized its lobbying to pass vote-suppressing voter ID legislation and "stand your ground" laws. Since then, ALEC's attacks on workers' rights, environmental safeguards, and implementation of the Affordable Care Act — along with other pieces of its policy agenda, like its work to force a call for an Article V convention that could rewrite the U.S. Constitution — have been exposed.

## **ALEC's Funding**

Corporations and special interests fund nearly all of ALEC's operations. The following is a list of some of ALEC's largest funders, with Texas-based organizations and companies in bold:1

Alliance of Automobile Manufacturers

Altria Group

American Bail Coalition American Chemistry Council

American Dental Association

American Electric Power

American Fuel & Petrochemical Manufacturers

Anheuser-Busch

Asian American Hotel Owners Association

**Automotive Trade Association Executives** 

Bayer

Blue Cross Blue Shield Association

**BNSF Railway** 

Boehringer Ingelheim

Caterpillar

Centaur Gaming

**Charter Communications** 

Chevron

Credit Union National Association

CTIA

**Duke Energy** 

Eli Lilly

**Energy Future Holdings** 

FedEx

Guarantee Trust Life Insurance Company

K12 Inc.

**Koch Industries** 

Mallinckrodt Pharmaceuticals

Marathon Petroleum Corporation

McLane Company

National Cable and Telecommunications Association

National Federation of Independent Business

National Rural Electric Cooperative Association

NetChoice

**Novartis** 

Novolex

Nuclear Energy Institute

Peabody Energy

Pfizer

Philip Morris International

Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of Amer-

ican

Reynolds American

ShadowSoft Inc.

State Farm Insurance

**UPS** 

U.S. Chamber of Commerce

Vistra Energy

Amid controversies about ALEC's secretive operations and agenda, and public pressure from Common Cause and our allies, at least 115 major companies have left ALEC since 2011.<sup>2</sup> The departing firms include Coca-Cola, Pepsi, Procter & Gamble, Kraft, Johnson & Johnson, McDonald's, Mars, Walmart, CVS, Best Buy, Hewlett-Packard, Waldreens, General Motors, Ford Motor Company, General Electric, Bank of America, Visa, Amazon, Microsoft, Google, Facebook, Yahoo, eBay, T-Mobile, BP, Shell Oil Company, ExxonMobil, Dow Chemical Company, Verizon, AT&T. and Comcast.

#### **ALEC's Texas-Based Funding & Corporate Members**

In recent years, Texas-based companies, corporate trade groups and advocacy organizations have made up a large portion of ALEC's sponsors. The total amount of money contributed by Texas-based firms to ALEC is unknown:

- ALEC's Texas-based sponsors include:<sup>3,4,5</sup>
- AARP Texas
- AT&T\*
- Balanced Energy for Texas
- BNSF Railway
- BP\*
- Breitling Energy
- CenterPoint Energy
- Convention of States
- Dell\*
- Energy Future Holdings
- ExxonMobil\*
- Linn Energy
- ShadowSoft Inc.
- McLane Company
- NuStar Energy
- Pioneer Natural Resources
- Texas Automobile Dealers Association
- Texas Alliance of Energy Producers
- Texas Cable Association
- Texas Medical Association
- Texas Association of Builders
- Texas Business Roundtable
- Texas Oil and Gas Association
- Texas Public Policy Foundation
- Texans for Lawsuit Reform
- Texas Strategy Group
- Texas Star Alliance Energy Solutions
- The Schlueter Group
- Shell Oil Company\*
- Vistra Energy

#### **ALEC and the Texas Public Policy Foundation**

The **Texas Public Policy Foundation (TPPF)** is a longtime member and funder of ALEC. TPPF is a Texas affiliate of the State Policy Network (SPN), a network of conservative think tanks and advocacy organizations throughout the country. SPN was founded, in part, by ALEC, and SPN organizational members have introduced, echoed, advanced, and reinforced ALEC policies to hamstring labor; privatize education; disenfranchise minorities, students and the elderly; and roll back state environmental initiatives.

Over the years, TPPF has been a member of several of ALEC's task forces. On these task forces, legislators and lobbyists from private corporations and advocacy groups vote as equals to adopt "model" legislation. In recent years, TPPF has been a member of ALEC's Education Task Force; Health and Human Services Task Force; Energy, Environment and Agriculture Task Force; Civil Justice Task Force; and Tax and Fiscal Policy Task Force. TPPF was previously a member of ALEC's now-defunct Public Safety and Elections Task Force, which controversially created and promoted ALEC's "stand your ground" and voter ID model bills.

<sup>\*</sup> Indicates the company has publicly cut ties with ALEC.

TPPF's involvement in ALEC has also extended beyond membership in task forces. TPPF holds an annual "policy orientation" at the beginning of each year. ALEC ideas are discussed, and ALEC politicians are featured speakers. TPPF has also been a top-tier sponsor at ALEC conferences and has defended ALEC in the media.<sup>6</sup>

Sometimes, after their term ends in the legislature, ALEC members go on to work at TPPF. Ron Simmons, for example, represented District 65 in the Texas State House until January 2019 and had ties to ALEC. Just over two months later, TPPF announced that Simmons was leading its Right to Work initiative, working on a policy that ALEC has prioritized.

In 2018, while Jason Isaac was still representing District 45 in the Texas State House, TPPF welcomed its "friend" to join the team<sup>9</sup> as a senior manager and distinguished fellow of the Powered initiative. While in office, Isaac was a member<sup>10</sup> of the ALEC Commerce, Insurance and Economic Development Task Force.

Ellen Troxclair was a member of both the Austin City Council and ALEC's American City County Exchange. Troxclair is now a senior fellow at TPPF's Center for Local Governance.<sup>11</sup>

During the 2019 legislative sessions, Dustin Burrows, of District 83 and associated with ALEC, went as far as introducing a resolution<sup>12</sup> to commend TPPF for defending "liberty while raising awareness of the state 's model of low taxation, limited regulation, and personal freedom as the engine for prosperity" and to congratulate the organization on its 30th anniversary.

### **ALEC's Illegal Lobbying & Charitable Status**

ALEC is registered with the IRS as a 501(c)(3) charity. A 501(c)(3) status allows ALEC's corporate members and funders to deduct their contributions to ALEC on their corporate tax returns. The deductions act as a taxpayer-funded subsidy to ALEC's self-interested lobbying. Despite ALEC's well-documented influence in the state policy-making process, to keep its tax status, ALEC continues to insist it is not a lobbying group.

Common Cause filed a whistleblower complaint with the IRS against ALEC in April 2012,<sup>13</sup> charging the organization with tax fraud because it operated as a lobby while registered as a 501(c)(3) charity. The complaint included thousands of pages of ALEC records as exhibits detailing how ALEC abuses charity laws, massively underreports lobbying and obtains improper tax breaks for corporate funders at taxpayers' expense.

Since 2012, Common Cause and the Center for Media and Democracy have filed three supplemental complaints, with reams of evidence documenting ALEC's tax fraud:

- July 2013 submission: This filing exposed ALEC's corporate-funded "scholarship" schemes, under which corporations secretly pay legislators' travel and hotel expenses for ALEC conferences.
- May 2015 submission: This filing includes over 200 pages of new evidence including statements and letters
  from 20 past and present corporate members and/or sponsors of ALEC, in which they explicitly admit that they
  joined and maintained their memberships to influence legislation and gain access to lawmakers.
- October 2016 submission: This filing documented ExxonMobil's use of ALEC for nearly two decades to lobby state legislators and promote the company's climate change denial policies.

#### **Texas Politicians with ALEC Ties**

ALEC hides the identities of its legislative members but claims that nearly one quarter of the nation's 7,300 state legislators are involved in the organization.<sup>14</sup> Nearly all of ALEC's known legislative members are Republicans. While ALEC does not publicize the identities of all its legislative members, our research shows at least 58 lawmakers in the state have ties to the group. The concentration of lawmakers with ALEC ties in Texas is one of the highest of any state, around 32%.

ALEC's current Texas state chairs<sup>15</sup> are **Rep. Tan Parker** (R-63) and **Sen. Kelly Hancock** (R-9). ALEC state chairs serve as the organization's main representatives in the states, often charged with raising money for ALEC and the

"scholarships" it uses to pay travel expenses for legislative members to attend ALEC conferences. The chairs also lead colleagues in introducing and pushing ALEC legislation and communicating ALEC's goals in the states.

**Rep. Phil King** (R-61) currently serves on ALEC's national board of directors, was ALEC's 2015 national chair and heads several other ALEC committees and projects.<sup>16</sup>

Gov. Greg Abbott has been a featured speaker at ALEC's conferences, including in 2014<sup>17</sup> and 2016.<sup>18</sup> Lt. Gov. Dan Patrick is an alumnus of ALEC.<sup>19</sup>

Attorney General Ken Paxton, Comptroller Glenn Hegar, Agriculture Commissioner Sid Miller<sup>20</sup> and Railroad Commissioner Wayne Christian were all members of ALEC during their time in the state legislature.<sup>21</sup>

Former governor and current U.S. Secretary of Energy **Rick Perry** is also an ALEC alumnus.<sup>22</sup> In 2010, ALEC awarded him with its Thomas Jefferson Freedom Award.<sup>23</sup> Perry has been a featured speaker at numerous ALEC conferences over the years. In 2018, Perry gave ALEC a private briefing on energy policy at the White House.<sup>24</sup>

ALEC also has close connections to Texas' congressional delegation. **U.S. Congressmen Kenny Marchant** (R-TX-24), **Kevin Brady** (R-TX-8), **John Culberson** (R-TX-7) and **Randy Weber** (R-TX-14) are alumni of ALEC.<sup>25</sup> **U.S. Senator Ted Cruz** has spoken at several ALEC conferences over the years, including in 2013,<sup>26</sup> 2015<sup>27</sup> and 2018.<sup>28</sup>

Campaign finance documents, media reports and other public records indicate the following Texas legislators have ties to ALEC:<sup>29</sup>

LEGISLATOR	CHAMBER	DISTRICT	PARTY	ALEC TIES
Dan Flynn	House	2	Republican	Documented ALEC legislator list and signed onto Airbnb protest letter
Cecil Bell Jr.	House	3	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter
Cole Hefner	House	5	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter and Texas Ethics Commission report
Matt Schaefer	House	6	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter
Chris Paddie	House	9	Republican	Disclosed 2015 ALEC conference expenses
John C. Wray	House	10	Republican	Signed onto Texas Ethics Commission report
Travis Clardy	House	11	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter
Ben Leman	House	13	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter
John Raney	House	14	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter
John P. Cyrier	House	17	Republican	Signed onto Texas Ethics Commission report
Rick Miller	House	26	Republican	Former state chair
John Zerwas	House	28	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter and Texas Ethics Commission report
Ed Thompson	House	29	Republican	Attended the 2017 ALEC Annual Meeting and signed onto ALEC action "Confirm Judge Brett Kavanaugh" letter
Geanie W. Morrison	House	30	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter and ALEC Education Task Force alternate
Todd Hunter	House	32	Republican	ALEC Civil Justice Task Force member
John Kuempel	House	44	Republican	Signed onto Texas Ethics Commission campaign finance report
Charles Anderson	House	56	Republican	Registered to attend 2017 ALEC Annual Meeting and signed the ALEC action "Confirm Judge Brett Kavanaugh" letter

Mike Lang	House	60	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter
Phil King	House	61	Republican	Sits on ALEC's board of directors: former 2015 ALEC national chair
Tan Parker	House	63	Republican	ALEC state chair
Lynn Stucky	House	64	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter
Matt Shaheen	House	66	Republican	Documented ALEC legislator list
Jeff C. Leach	House	67	Republican	Signed onto Texas Ethics Commission campaign finance report
Drew Springer	House	68	Republican	Signed onto Texas Ethics Commission report
James Frank	House	69	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter and Texas Ethics Commission report
William S. Sanford	House	70	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter and Texas Ethics Commission report
Drew Darby	House	72	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter
Kyle Biedermann	House	73	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter
Tom Craddick	House	82	Republican	Past chairman of ALEC board of directors
Dustin R. Burrows	House	83	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter
John Frullo	House	84	Republican	Registered for 2017 Annual Meeting
Phil Stephenson	House	85	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter
John T. Smithee	House	86	Republican	Documented ALEC legislator list
Four Price	House	87	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter
Stephanie Klick	House	91	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter and Texas Ethics Commission report
Matt Krause	House	93	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter and Texas Ethics Commission report
Tony Tinderholt	House	94	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter
Bill Zedler	House	96	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter
Craig Goldman	House	97	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter
Giovanni S. Capriglione	House	98	Republican	Signed onto Texas Ethics Commission report
Lyle Larson	House	122	Republican	Signed onto Texas Ethics Commission campaign finance report
Briscoe Cain	House	128	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter
Dennis Paul	House	129	Republican	Registered for 2017 Annual Meeting and signed onto ALEC action "Confirm Judge Brett Kavanaugh" letter
Tom Oliverson	House	130	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter
Sarah Davis	House	134	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter
Dwayne Bohac	House	138	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter and Texas Ethics Commission campaign finance report
Valoree Swanson	House	150	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter
Bryan Hughes	Senate	1	Republican	Staffer Carolina Harris attended 2017 Annual Meeting
Paul Bettencourt	Senate	7	Republican	Signed onto Texas Ethics Commission report
Kelly G. Hancock	Senate	9	Republican	State chair
Larry W. Taylor	Senate	11	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter
Jane Nelson	Senate	12	Republican	ALEC Health and Human Services Task Force member

Brian Birdwell	Senate	22	Republican	Disclosed expenses to attend ALEC 2012 Annual Meeting in Salt Lake City
Dawn C. Buckingham	Senate	24	Republican	Signed onto Texas Ethics Commission report
Donna Campbell	Senate	25	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter
Jose Menendez	Senate	26	Democrat	Signed onto Texas Ethics Commission campaign finance report
Charles Perry	Senate	28	Republican	Signed onto Airbnb protest letter
Kel Seliger	Senate	31	Republican	ALEC state chair

#### ALEC's Influence and "Model" Bills in Texas

ALEC's model bills attempt to write benefits to its corporate donors into state law. The bill sponsors typically copy text almost directly from ALEC materials without acknowledging ALEC's role in the drafting process. The organization has a long record of success in getting its proposals enacted.

ALEC has maintained a vise-like grip on Texas politics for decades. While the group has worked to advance corporate interests in the states since 1973, it has only gained public attention — and ire — in the last 10 years. Watchdog groups, including the Center for Media and Democracy and Common Cause, have illuminated ALEC's work in Texas and throughout the United States, and worked to expose the laws written by corporations and the lawmakers bankrolled by them.

In Texas, ALEC legislators have implemented vote-suppressing voter ID laws, controversial "stand your ground" gun laws and laws that limit healthcare rights and access. ALEC and its legislative members frequently allow corporate funders and lobbyists to draft legislation that they then take to the State House to introduce as their own — completely disregarding their duty as lawmakers. Below are just a few examples of the bills written by ALEC and proposed by its members in Texas.

- 1979 The Texas Legislature passed an application for an Article V constitutional convention to enact a balanced budget amendment.<sup>30</sup> The push to call a new constitutional convention has since become a signature campaign for ALEC. A near direct copy of Texas' application would later become an ALEC model bill.<sup>31</sup> More recently, Gov. Greg Abbott became an outspoken supporter of a broader constitutional convention to limit federal powers. This led to the Texas Legislature passing the "Convention of States" application for an Article V convention,<sup>32</sup> which was also an ALEC model bill.<sup>33</sup>
- 1993 A Texas representative and ALEC member wrote the bill that started a horrible trend of exploitatory labor
  practices in prisons throughout the United States. The Texas bill morphed into ALEC's own Prison Industries Act,
  a bill largely credited for today's exploding for-profit prison industry.<sup>34</sup>
- 2007 Texas enacted a strict "stand your ground" law, which mirrored ALEC's Castle Doctrine Act.<sup>35</sup> On its 2007 legislative scorecard, the group bragged of numerous states passing similar bills. (The scorecard has since been removed from the website).<sup>36</sup>
- 2011 Texas passed one of the strictest<sup>37</sup> voter ID laws in the country. The bill closely resembled<sup>38</sup> ALEC's model
   Voter ID Act and bills proposed by ALEC legislators in at least 36 other states from 2011 to 2012.<sup>39</sup>
- 2014 ALEC members in the Texas Legislature supported "school choice" and voucher programs with support from ALEC corporations in the state. The movement had little support at the grassroots level from families and educators, but it saw massive support from extreme right-wing think tanks and lobbying groups.<sup>40</sup>
- 2017 Texas established a system of "high-risk insurance pools," which separates people with pre-existing conditions or chronic conditions from healthy people for insurance plan purchases. The bill featuring the system was pulled straight from ALEC's website and was a part of its national effort to stop key parts of the Affordable Care Act. Those pools have been widely criticized for the exorbitant costs they may force on patients and taxpayers.<sup>41</sup>
- 2017 Texas legislators proposed a law granting private companies the power to use eminent domain to acquire land for a high speed rail project. ALEC wrote a report and mobilized lawmakers to advance the interests of a for-profit company's construction project at the expense of private landowners.<sup>42</sup>

Using ALEC model bills, ALEC legislators have authored and co-sponsored many of the Texas bills aimed at criminalizing or chilling protest. Rep. Chris Paddie (R-9) "authored" the Critical Infrastructure Protection Act, 43 which creates four new criminal offenses. Two provisions in the law could target peaceful protestors with felonies or misdemeanors and threaten thousands of dollars in fines. Sen. Jane Nelson (R-12) co-authored a so-called Campus Free Speech bill.44 The law contains a provision that requires universities to "establish disciplinary sanctions for students, student organizations, or faculty who unduly interfere with the expressive activities of others on campus," which will have a chilling effect on protests. ALEC board member Rep. Phil King (R-61) introduced an Anti-Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions bill<sup>45</sup> in 2017 that made it illegal for the state of Texas to contract with individuals and companies that boycott Israel, targeting those who use the method of boycott as a form of protest. When that law was temporarily blocked<sup>46</sup> earlier this year because it was likely unconstitutional, King quickly introduced a revised version of the law<sup>47</sup> that Gov. Greg Abbot (R) signed. The revised bill narrowed the scope of those targeted to companies with over 10 employees and those with a contract for more than \$100,000.

ALEC has seen some pushback from state leaders. In 2013, then-Attorney General Greg Abbott rejected the group's request for immunity from open records laws, which require lawmakers to disclose their meetings with lobbyists — though Abbott went on to speak at ALEC's national conference in 2016.48

The charts on the following pages give just a few examples of how Texas bills, primarily from the last few legislative sessions, include language that appears to have been copied from or greatly influenced by ALEC model legislation. Although the bills cover a wide range of special interests, the underlying theme is their propensity to satisfy corporate needs. Corporate members of ALEC expect their interests to be advanced by state legislators who join the organization. ALEC has admitted that it is designed in part to strengthen relationships between "business leaders" and legislators.49

# ${\bf ALEC~`Model''~Bills~That~Were~Recently~Directly~Copied~in~Texas}$

The following Texas bills share exact language with ALEC's model bills.

**HIGHLIGHT KEY:** 

Similar language Exact language

TEXAS HOUSE BILL 3557 SESSION: 2019 REGULAR	ALEC'S CRITICAL INFRASTRUCTURE PROTECTION ACT50
Acts of the 85th Legislature, Regular Session, 2017, to read as follows:  (1-a) "Critical infrastructure facility" means:	Section 1. {Definitions.} For purposes of this Act:  A. "Critical Infrastructure" has the same meaning given to it in 42 USC 5195c.
<ul> <li>(A) one of the following, if completely enclosed by a fence or other physical barrier that is obviously designed to exclude intruders, or if clearly marked with a sign or signs that are posted on the property, are reasonably likely to come to the attention of intruders, and indicate that entry is forbidden:</li> <li>(i) a petroleum or alumina refinery;</li> </ul>	B. "Critical infrastructure facility" means:  1. One of the following, if completely enclosed by a fence or other physical barrier that is obviously designed to exclude intruders, or if clearly marked with a sign or signs that are posted on the property that are reasonably likely to come to the attention of intruders and indicate that entry is forbidden without site authorization:
<ul><li>(ii) an electrical power generating facility, substation, switching station, or electrical control center;</li><li>(iii) a chemical, polymer, or rubber manufacturing facility;</li></ul>	a. A petroleum or alumina refinery,  b. An electrical power generating facility, substation, switching station, electrical control center or electric power lines and associated equipment infrastructure,
<ul><li>(iv) a water intake structure, water treatment facility, wastewater treatment plant, or pump station;</li><li>(v) a natural gas compressor station;</li></ul>	<ul><li>c. A chemical, polymer or rubber manufacturing facility,</li><li>d. A water intake structure, water treatment facility, wastewater treatment plant or pump station,</li></ul>
<ul><li>(vi) a liquid natural gas terminal or storage facility;</li><li>(vii) a telecommunications central switching office or any structure used as part of a system to provide wired or wireless telecommunications services;</li></ul>	<ul><li>e. A natural gas compressor station,</li><li>f. A liquid natural gas terminal or storage facility,</li><li>g. Wireline and wireless telecommunications infrastructure,</li></ul>
(viii) a port, railroad switching yard, trucking terminal, or other freight transportation facility;	h. A port, railroad switching yard, railroad tracks, trucking terminal or other freight transportation facility,
(ix) a gas processing plant, including a plant used in the processing, treatment, or fractionation of natural gas;	i. A gas processing plant, including a plant used in the processing, treatment or fractionation of natural gas or natural gas liquids,
(x) a transmission facility used by a federally licensed radio or television station;	j. A transmission facility used by a federally licensed radio or television station,
(xi) a steelmaking facility that uses an electric arc furnace to make steel;	k. A steelmaking facility that uses an electric arc furnace to make steel,
(xii) a dam that is classified as a high hazard by the Texas Commission on Environmental Quality; or	I. A facility identified and regulated by the United States Department of Homeland Security Chemical Facility Anti- Terrorism Standards (CFATS) program,
()	m. A dam that is regulated by the state or federal government, o. A natural gas distribution utility facility including, but not limited to, pipeline interconnections, a city gate or town border station, metering station, aboveground piping, a regular station and a natural gas storage facility, or  ()

TEXAS SENATE BILL 18 SESSION: 2019 REGULAR	ALEC'S FORMING OPEN AND ROBUST UNIVERSITY MINDS (FORUM) ACT <sup>51</sup>
(1) "Benefit" includes:	This Act shall be known as the Forming Open and Robust University Minds (FORUM) Act
(A) recognition by or registration with an institution of higher education;	Section 1: Definitions[1]
(B)the use of an institution of higher education's facilities for meetings or speaking	(1) "Benefit" means the following: (1) recognition; (2) registration; (3) the use of facilities of the institution of higher education
purposes; (C)the use of channels of communication	for meetings or speaking purposes; (4) the use of channels of communication; and (5) funding sources that are otherwise available to other student organizations at the public institution
controlled by an institution of higher education; and	of higher education.
(D)funding sources made generally available to student organizations at an institution of higher education.	

#### **TEXAS SENATE BILL 1240 SESSION: 2019 REGULAR**

Sec. 121.001. DEFINITION. In this chapter, "hemp" means the plant Cannabis sativa L. and any part of that plant, including the seeds of the plant and all derivatives, extracts, cannabinoids, isomers, acids, salts, and salts of isomers, whether growing or not, with a delta-9 tetrahydrocannabinol concentration of not more than 0.3 percent on a dry weight basis.

Sec. 121.002. LEGISLATIVE INTENT. It is the intent of the legislature that this state have primary regulatory authority over the production of hemp in this state.

Sec. 121.003. DEPARTMENT RULES. (a) The department, after consulting with the governor and attorney general, shall adopt rules consistent with Chapter 122 providing:

- (1) a practice to maintain relevant information regarding land on which hemp is produced in this state, including a legal description of the land, for a period of at least three calendar years;
- (2) a procedure for testing, using post-decarboxylation, high-performance liquid chromatography, or another similarly reliable method, the delta-9 tetrahydrocannabinol concentration of hemp produced in this state;
- (3) a procedure for the effective disposal of plants, whether growing or not, that are produced in violation of Subtitle G, Agricultural Marketing Act of 1946 (7 U.S.C. Chapter 38, Subchapter VII), and products derived from those plants;
- (4) a procedure to comply with the enforcement procedures described by Section 297B(e), Agricultural Marketing Act of 1946 (7 U.S.C. Section 1639p(e));
- (5) a procedure for conducting annual inspections of, at a minimum, a random sample of hemp producers to verify that hemp is not produced in violation of Subtitle G, Agricultural Marketing Act of 1946 (7 U.S.C. Chapter 38, Subchapter VII);
- (6) a procedure for submitting the information described in Section 297C(d)(2), Agricultural Marketing Act of 1946 (7 U.S.C. Section 1639q(d)(2)), as applicable, to the secretary of the United States Department of Agriculture not later than the 30th day after the date the information is received; and
- (7) standards for certifying that this state has the resources and personnel to carry out the practices and procedures described by Subdivisions (1) through (6).

#### ALEC'S MODEL POLICY ON HEMP AND CBD PRODUCTION AND SALE<sup>52</sup>

(5) "Hemp" means the plant Cannabis sativa L. and any part of that plant, including the seeds thereof and all derivatives, extracts, cannabinoids, isomers, acids, salts, and salts of isomers, whether growing or not, with a delta-9 tetrahydrocannabinol concentration of not more than 0.3 percent on a dry weight basis.

NEW SECTION. Sec. 3. (1) The department must develop an agricultural commodity program in accordance with the agriculture improvement act of 2018.

(2) The department has sole regulatory authority over the production of hemp and may adopt rules to implement this chapter.

NEW SECTION. Sec. 4. (1) The department must develop the state's hemp plan to conform to the agriculture improvement act of 2018, to include consultation with the governor and the attorney general and the plan elements required in the agriculture improvement act of 2018.

- (2) Consistent with subsection (1) of this section, the state's hemp plan must include the following elements:
- (a) A practice for hemp producers to maintain relevant information regarding land on which hemp is produced, including a legal description of the land, for a period of not less than three calendar years;
- (b) A procedure for testing, using postdecarboxylation or other similarly reliable methods, delta-9 tetrahydrocannabinol concentration levels of hemp, without the application of heat;
- (c) A procedure for the effective disposal of plants, whether growing or not, that are produced in violation of this chapter, and products derived from such plants;
- (d) A procedure for enforcement of violations of the plan and for corrective action plans for licensees as required under the agriculture improvement act of 2018;
- (e) A procedure for conducting annual inspections of, at a minimum, a random sample of hemp producers to verify hemp is not produced in violation of this chapter; and
- (f) A certification that the state has the resources and personnel to carry out the practices and procedures described in this section.

TEXAS HOUSE BILL 226 SESSION: 2019 REGULAR	ALEC'S THE REVIEW OF PENAL LAWS ACT53
SECTION 2.01. COMMISSION TO STUDY CERTAIN PENAL LAWS.  (a) A commission is created to study and review all penal laws of this state other than criminal offenses: (1) under the Penal Code; (2) under Chapter 481, Health and Safety Code; or (3) related to the operation of a motor vehicle.	(Section 1.) Commission to Study Certain Penal Laws  (A) A commission is created to study and review all penal laws of this state other than criminal offenses:  (1) Under the Penal Code;  (2) Under Health and Safety Code that involve illicit controlled substances; or  (3) Related to the operation of a motor vehicle.
(b) The commission shall: (1) evaluate all laws described by Subsection (a) of this section; (2) make recommendations to the legislature regarding the repeal or amendment of laws that are identified as being unnecessary, unclear, duplicative, overly broad, or otherwise insufficient to serve the intended purpose of the law, including the laws identified by the commission created by Section 29, Chapter 1251 (H.B. 1396), Acts of the 84th Legislature, Regular Session, 2015, as requiring additional review	B) The commission shall: (1) Evaluate all laws described by Subsection (A) of this Section; and (2) Make recommendations to the legislature regarding the repeal or revision of laws that are identified as being unnecessary, unclear, duplicative, overly broad, or otherwise insufficient to serve the intended purpose of the law.
(c) The commission is composed of nine members appointed as follows: (1) Two members appointed by the governor; (2) Two members appointed by the lieutenant governor; (3) Two members appointed by the speaker of the House of Representatives; (4) Two members appointed by the chief justice of the Supreme Court of Texas; and	(C) The commission is composed of nine members appointed as follows: (1) Three members appointed by the governor; (2) Two members appointed by the presiding officer of the senate; (3) Two members appointed by the speaker; (4) Two members appointed by the chief justice of the state's highest court (or if there are separate high courts for criminal and civil matters one appointed by the chief justice of each court).

TEXAS SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 2 SESSION: 2017 REGULAR	ALEC'S APPLICATION FOR A CONVENTION OF THE STATES UNDER ARTICLE V OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES <sup>54</sup>
WHEREAS, The drafters of the United States Constitution empowered state legislatures to be guardians of liberty against abuses of power by the federal government; and	WHEREAS, the Founders of our Constitution empowered State Legislators to be guardians of liberty against future abuses of power by the federal government; and
WHEREAS, The federal government has abused its power by creating a crushing national debt through improper and imprudent spending; and	WHEREAS, the federal government has created a crushing national debt through improper and imprudent spending; and
WHEREAS, The federal government has abused its power by invading the legitimate role of the states through the manipulative process of federal mandates that are to a great extent unfunded; and	WHEREAS, the federal government has invaded the legitimate roles of the states through the manipulative process of federal mandates, most of which are unfunded to a great extent; and
WHEREAS, The federal government has ceased to abide by a proper interpretation of the United States Constitution; and	WHEREAS, the federal government has ceased to live under a proper interpretation of the Constitution of the United States; and
WHEREAS, It is the solemn duty of state legislatures to protect the liberty of the people and of future generations by proposing amendments to the United States Constitution that place clear restraints on federal power; and	WHEREAS, it is the solemn duty of the States to protect the liberty of our people—particularly for the generations to come—by proposing Amendments to the Constitution of the United States through a Convention of the States under Article V for the purpose of restraining these and related abuses of power;

RESOLVED, That the 85th Texas Legislature apply to Congress to call a convention under Article V of the United States Constitution for the limited purpose of proposing one or more amendments to the constitution to impose fiscal restraints on the federal government, to limit the power and jurisdiction of the federal government, and to limit the terms of office of federal officials and members of Congress; and, be it further

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF \_\_\_\_:

SECTION 1. The legislature of the State of \_\_\_ applies to Congress, under the provisions of Article V of the Constitution of the United States, for the calling of a convention of the states limited to proposing amendments to the Constitution of the United States that impose fiscal restraints on the federal government, limit the power and jurisdiction of the federal government, and limit the terms of office for its officials and for members of Congress.

RESOLVED, That, unless rescinded by a succeeding legislature, this application by the 85th Texas Legislature constitutes a continuing application in accordance with Article V of the United States Constitution until at least twothirds of the legislatures of the several states have applied to Congress to call a convention for the limited purpose of proposing one or more amendments to the constitution to impose fiscal restraints on the federal government, to limit the power and jurisdiction of the federal government, and to limit the terms of office of federal officials and members of Congress; and, be it further

SECTION 3. This application constitutes a continuing application in accordance with Article V of the Constitution of the United States until the legislatures of at least twothirds of the several states have made applications on the same subject.

RESOLVED, That the Texas secretary of state forward official copies of this resolution to the president of the United States, to the speaker of the House of Representatives and the president of the Senate of the Congress of the United States, and to all members of the Texas delegation to Congress with the request that this resolution be officially entered in the Congressional Record as an application to Congress for a convention under Article V of the United States Constitution for the limited purpose of proposing one or more amendments to the constitution to impose fiscal restraints on the federal government, to limit the power and jurisdiction of the federal government, and to limit the terms of office of federal officials and members of Congress; and, be it further

SECTION 2. The secretary of state is hereby directed to transmit copies of this application to the President and Secretary of the United States Senate and to the Speaker and Clerk of the United States House of Representatives, and copies to the members of the said Senate and House of Representatives from this State; also to transmit copies hereof to the presiding officers of each of the legislative houses in the several States, requesting their cooperation.

RESOLVED, That the Texas secretary of state forward official copies of this resolution to the secretaries of state and to the presiding officers of the legislatures of the several states with the request that they join this state in applying to Congress for a convention under Article V of the United States Constitution for the limited purpose of proposing one or more amendments to the constitution to impose fiscal restraints on the federal government, to limit the power and jurisdiction of the federal government, and to limit the terms of office of federal officials and members of Congress.

TEXAS SENATE BILL 2087 SESSION: 2017 REGULAR	ALEC'S TEMPORARY HEALTH INSURANCE RISK POOL ACT <sup>55</sup>
AN ACT relating to the creation of a temporary health insurance risk pool.	Relating to the creation of a temporary health insurance risk pool.
BE IT ENACTED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF TEXAS:	BE IT ENACTED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF [Fill in state]
SECTION 1. Subtitle G, Title 8, Insurance Code, is amended by adding Chapter 1510 to read as follows:	SECTION 1 Insurance Code, is amended by adding Chapter [Fill in appropriate chapter] to read as follows:
CHAPTER 1510. TEMPORARY HEALTH INSURANCE RISK POOL	CHAPTER [XX]. TEMPORARY HEALTH INSURANCE RISK POOL
Sec. 1510.001. DEFINITION. In this chapter, "pool" means a temporary health insurance risk pool that is established and administered by the commissioner under this chapter.	Sec. 1510.001. DEFINITION. In this chapter, "pool" means a temporary health insurance risk pool that is established and administered by the commissioner under this chapter.
Sec. 1510.002. ESTABLISHMENT OF TEMPORARY HEALTH INSURANCE	Sec. 1510.002. ESTABLISHMENT OF TEMPORARY HEALTH INSURANCE RISK POOL. To the extent that federal funds become available under federal law, regulation, or executive
RISK POOL. To the extent that federal funds become available under federal law, regulation, or executive action after March 1, 2017, the commissioner may:	action after [Fill in date], the commissioner may:  1. apply for such funds; and
(1) apply for such funds; and	2. use such funds to establish and administer a temporary health insurance risk pool for the purposes of this
(2) use such funds to establish and administer a temporary health insurance risk pool for the purposes of this chapter.	<mark>chapter.</mark>
Sec. 1510.003. PURPOSE OF POOL.	Sec. [XX]. PURPOSE OF POOL.
(a) The exclusive purpose of the pool is to provide a temporary mechanism for maximizing available federal funding to assist residents of this state in obtaining access to quality health care at minimum cost to the public.	(a) The exclusive purpose of the pool is to provide a temporary mechanism for maximizing available federal funding to assist residents of this state in obtaining access to quality health care at minimum cost to the public.
(b) The pool may not be used to expand the Medicaid program, including the program administered under Chapter 32, Human Resources Code, and the program administered under Chapter 533, Government Code.	(b) The pool may not be used to expand the Medicaid program, including the program administered under Chapter [XX], Human Resources Code, and the program administered under Chapter [XX], Government Code
Sec. 1510.004. PROVISION OF COVERAGE. Subject to any requirements for obtaining federal funds held in the pool, the commissioner may use pool funds:	Sec. [XX] PROVISION OF COVERAGE. Subject to any requirements for obtaining federal funds held in the pool, the commissioner may use pool funds:
<ol> <li>to provide alternative individual health insurance coverage to eligible individuals that does not diminish the availability of traditional commercial health care coverage;</li> </ol>	to provide alternative individual health insurance coverage to eligible individuals that does not diminish the availability of traditional commercial health care coverage;
2. to provide funding to individual health benefit plan issuers that cover individuals with certain health or cost characteristics in exchange for lower enrollee premium rates; or	2. to provide funding to individual health benefit plan issuers that cover individuals with certain health or cost characteristics in exchange for lower enrollee premium rates; or
3. to provide a reinsurance program for health benefit plan issuers in the individual market in exchange for lower enrollee premium rates.	3. to provide a reinsurance program for health benefit plan issuers in the individual market in exchange for lower enrollee premium rates.

#### Sec. 1510.005. CONTRACTS AND AGREEMENTS.

- (a) The commissioner may enter into a contract or agreement that the commissioner determines is appropriate to carry out this chapter, including a contract or agreement with:
- a similar pool in another state for the joint performance of common administrative functions;
- another organization for the performance of administrative functions; or
- 3. a federal agency.
- (b) The commissioner may contract for stop-loss insurance for risks incurred under this chapter...
- ...Sec. 1510.007. PUBLIC EDUCATION AND OUTREACH.
- (a) The commissioner may use funds appropriated to the department for the exclusive purposes of this chapter to develop and implement public education, outreach, and facilitated enrollment strategies under this chapter.
- (b)The commissioner may contract with marketing organizations to perform or provide assistance with the strategies described by Subsection (a)...

...Sec. 1510.011. EXEMPTION FROM STATE TAXES AND FEES.

Notwithstanding any other law, a program created under this chapter is not subject to any state tax, regulatory fee, or surcharge, including a premium or maintenance tax or fee....

#### Sec. [XX]. CONTRACTS AND AGREEMENTS.

- (a) The commissioner may enter into a contract or agreement that the commissioner determines is appropriate to carry out this chapter, including a contract or agreement with:
- a similar pool in another state for the joint performance of common administrative functions;
- another organization for the performance of administrative functions; or
- 3. a federal agency.
- (b) The commissioner may contract for stop-loss insurance for risks incurred under this chapter...
- ...Sec. [XX]. PUBLIC EDUCATION AND OUTREACH.
- (a) The commissioner may use funds appropriated to the department for the exclusive purposes of this chapter to develop and implement public education, outreach, and facilitated enrollment strategies under this chapter.
- (b) The commissioner may contract with marketing organizations to perform or provide assistance with the strategies described by Subsection (a)...

...Sec. [XX] EXEMPTION FROM STATE TAXES AND FEES.

Notwithstanding any other law, a program created under this chapter is not subject to any state tax, regulatory fee, or surcharge, including a premium or maintenance tax or fee....

TEXAS HOUSE BILL 810 SESSION: 2017 REGULAR	ALEC'S MEDICAL FREEDOM ACT <sup>56</sup>
AN ACT relating to the provision of certain investigational stem cell treatments to patients with certain severe chronic diseases or terminal illnesses and regulating the possession, use, and transfer of adult stem cells; creating a criminal offense.	AN ACT relating to the provision of certain investigational stem cell treatments to patients with certain severe chronic diseases or terminal illnesses and regulating the possession, use, and transfer of adult stem cells; creating a criminal offense.
BE IT ENACTED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF TEXAS:	BE IT ENACTED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF XXXX:
SUBCHAPTER B. PROVISION OF INVESTIGATIONAL STEM CELL TREATMENTS TO PATIENTS WITH CERTAIN SEVERE CHRONIC DISEASES OR TERMINAL ILLNESSES	SUBCHAPTER B. PROVISION OF INVESTIGATIONAL STEM CELL TREATMENTS TO PATIENTS WITH CERTAIN SEVERE CHRONIC DISEASES OR TERMINAL ILLNESSES
Sec. 1003.051. DEFINITIONS. In this subchapter: (1) "Investigational stem cell treatment" means an adult stem cell treatment that: A. is under investigation in a clinical trial and being administered to human participants in that trial; and B. has not yet been approved for general use by the United States Food and Drug Administration. (2) "Severe chronic disease" means a condition, injury, or illness that: A. may be treated; B. is never cured or eliminated; and C. entails significant functional impairment or severe pain. (3) "Terminal illness" means an advanced stage of a disease with an unfavorable prognosis that, without lifesustaining procedures, will soon result in death or a state of permanent unconsciousness from which recovery is unlikely	Sec. xxx.xxx. DEFINITIONS. In this subchapter: (1) "Investigational stem cell treatment" means an adult stem cell treatment that: A. is under investigation in a clinical trial and being administered to human participants in that trial; and B. has not yet been approved for general use by the United States Food and Drug Administration. (2) "Severe chronic disease" means a condition, injury, or illness that: A. may be treated; B. is never cured or eliminated; and C. entails significant functional impairment or severe pain. (3) "Terminal illness" means a disease that, without lifesustaining procedures, will result in death in the near future and is not considered by a treating physician to be reversible even with administration of current federal Food and Drug Administration approved and available treatments
Sec. 1003.055. TREATMENT REQUIREMENTS; TEXAS MEDICAL BOARD RULES. (a) Treatment provided under this subchapter must be: 1. administered directly by a physician certified under Subsection (c); 2. overseen by an institutional review board described by Subsection (d); and 3. provided at: A. a hospital licensed under Chapter 241; B. an ambulatory surgical center licensed under Chapter 243; or C. a medical school, as defined by Section 61.501, Education Code. (b) physician administering an investigational stem cell treatment under this subchapter shall comply with all applicable Texas Medical Board rules. (c) An institutional review board described by Subsection (d) may certify a physician to provide an investigational stem cell treatment under this subchapter. (d) An institutional review board that oversees investigational stem cell treatments administered under this subchapter must be affiliated with: 1. a medical school, as defined by Section 61.501, Education Code; or 2. a hospital licensed under Chapter 241 that has at least 150 beds. (e) The Texas Medical Board may adopt rules regarding institutional review boards as necessary to implement this section.	Sec. xxx.xxx. TREATMENT REQUIREMENTS; XXX MEDICAL BOARD RULES.  (a) Treatment provided under this subchapter must be:  1. administered directly by a physician certified under Subsection (c); and  2. overseen by an institutional review board described by Subsection (d); and  3. provided at:  A. a hospital licensed under Chapter xxx;  B. an ambulatory surgical center licensed under Chapter xxx; or  C. a medical school, as defined by Section xxx, Education Code.  (b) A physician administering an investigational stem cell treatment under this subchapter shall comply with all applicable XXX Medical Board rules.  (c) An institutional review board described by Subsection (d) may certify a physician to provide an investigational stem cell treatment under this subchapter.  (d) The XXX Medical Board may adopt rules regarding institutional review boards as necessary to implement this section.

## **ALEC "Model" Bills That Recently Influenced Texas Legislation**

The following Texas bills from the 2019 legislative session share the same basic intent as ALEC's model bills.

TEXAS BILL & SUMMARY	ALEC "MODEL" BILL
House Resolution 23: Expressing support for the strengthening of our partnership with Taiwan and for the expansion of Taiwan's role on the global stage.	Resolution in Support of Strengthening and Deepening the Relationships between Taiwan and the States of the United States <sup>57</sup>
House Resolution 1160: Urging Congress to unite in bipartisan support for the ratification of the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement.	Resolution Supporting Congressional Approval of the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA) <sup>58</sup>
House Bill 793: Relating to certain government contracts with companies that boycott Israel.	Model Peace Israel Act – Protection and Enforcement Against the Commercial Exclusion of Israel Act <sup>59</sup>
House Joint Resolution 103: <i>Proposing a constitutional amendment requiring certain tax bills to be approved by two-thirds of all the members elected to each house of the legislature.</i>	Super-Majority Act <sup>60</sup>
House Bill 3231: Relating to the regulation of firearms, air guns, knives, ammunition, or firearm or air gun supplies or accessories by a county or municipality.	Consistency in Firearms Regulation Act <sup>61</sup>
House Bill 985: Relating to the effect of certain agreements with a collective bargaining organization on certain statefunded public work contracts.	Open Contracting Act <sup>62</sup>
House Bill 222: Relating to prohibiting a municipality from requiring an employer to provide paid sick leave.	Living Wage Mandate Preemption Act <sup>63</sup> NOTE: While these two bills are on separate issues, ALEC's model bill is an example of how ALEC and its legislative members advocate for preemption legislation.

#### **Endnotes**

- 1 This list was compiled by reviewing <u>CMD's list of ALEC funders</u>, CMD's reporting from ALEC's <u>2014</u> and <u>2016</u> conferences, and reviewing information on <u>ALEC's website</u>.
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